

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

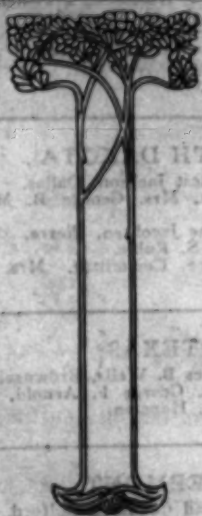
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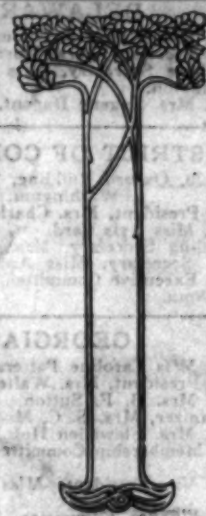
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MRS. ROBERT LANSING
Secretary, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage



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THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage announces with pleasure the acceptance by Mrs. Robert Lansing of the secretaryship of our organization, to which she has been unanimously chosen.

Like our president, Mrs. Wadsworth, Mrs. Lansing's life has been spent in the official circles of Washington. Her father, Hon. John W. Foster, was Secretary of State under President Harrison. Her husband is the present Secretary of State, a position particularly responsible and important at the present time because of the World War, one which calls for the most astute mentality and keenest diplomacy that our country can produce. Mrs. Lansing herself possesses in a remarkable degree the very qualities which placed her father and husband in this position of highest trust in the councils of our great nation.

As the wife of the Cabinet's premier, as a hostess to the many foreign diplomatic missions which the war has brought to our country, as a woman who fulfils to the utmost the responsibilities of the position in which she has been placed, thoroughly

comprehending the importance and influence of the woman's part in government, Mrs. Lansing's life emphasizes in a marked degree the principles upon which our organization is founded.

Under such leaders as Mrs. Wadsworth and Mrs. Lansing we know that we are invincible and victory for our cause is assured. With renewed vigor, therefore, we bind on our armor to fight for the principles for which we were organized:

"We stand for the conservation of the best of American womanhood of all conditions and stations of life, for the preservation of the home, for the retention of the best ideals of preceding generations adapted to the advantages and opportunities given to women under modern conditions. We believe that women, according to their leisure, opportunity and experience, should take part increasingly in civic and municipal affairs as they always have done in charitable, philanthropic and educational activities, and we believe that this can best be done by women *without* the ballot, as a non-partisan body of disinterested workers."

THE MAINE VICTORY

VICTORY is ours, for as goes Maine, so goes the country.

We have never had one moment's doubt of Maine. We have never had a moment's doubt of the rest of the country. But as anti-suffragists we never claim victory until we can sing its peans.

At the time of going to press we have not yet received the full returns, but our latest advices give us a large majority. The vote was light, always a handicap for the anti-suffragists, for the suffragists invariably succeed in registering their full vote, while the indifference of those who are actually opposed is proverbial.

Moreover, anti-suffragists have very little money with which to promote their campaigns, but with the Leslie coffers on which to draw, suffragists suffer no financial handicaps.

But the weight of sentiment is with us, not only in Maine, but everywhere else in these United States of America.

The Maine vote shows very clearly that this question is not regarded with favor by the great majority of the people of the United States, and any man or woman who would urge a Federal amendment to force woman suffrage upon the country does so in the face of the disapproval of the electorate, does so in disregard of the fundamental principles of democracy, does so, not as a representative of the people, but as an autocrat who proposes to throttle democracy and substitute his own will for theirs. "Kaiserism" has come to mean a very definite thing, and the man in public life who believes that the people, have no rights he is bound to respect unless they coincide with his own ideas, is surely in the Kaiser class.

Lest we forget, it is well to recite again the results of the vote during the last four years on the question of woman suffrage. No better indication of the will of the people can be given, and certainly no doubt can rest in the mind of any men

in official life as to the attitude of our country on this question:

State	Year	Majority Against
Wisconsin	1912	91,478
Michigan	1913	96,144
Ohio	1914	182,905
Nebraska	1914	10,104
Missouri	1914	140,206
North Dakota	1914	9,139
New Jersey	1915	51,108
New York	1915	194,984
Pennsylvania	1915	55,686
Massachusetts	1915	133,447
Iowa	1916	10,341
West Virginia	1916	98,067
South Dakota	1916	5,219
Maine	1917	Official returns not yet received.

During that time two States have been carried by the suffragists. States of small population, States with a large socialistic element.

State	Year	Majority For
Nevada	1914	3,679
Montana	1914	3,714

The combined majority of the two States was only 7,393.

Population of the United States in 1910.....	91,972,266
Population of States defeating woman suffrage at the polls in the last four years.....	42,477,881
Population of States adopting woman suffrage at the polls in the last four years.....	457,928
Population of States adopting woman suffrage at the polls since our political history begun.....	8,198,469

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Vol. XI

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No. 4



The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

THERE are persons in this country, some of them members of the United States Congress, who sincerely believe that the Woman Suffrage Amendment is in the identical situation of other amendments to the Constitution which have been proposed. There is, however, a vital difference which every student of the Constitution will readily realize.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment, providing for the enfranchisement of women, unlike other Federal amendments, has already been rejected by the electorate of the country. The question has been thoroughly discussed, duly submitted to the people and rejected by large majorities, in some States by majorities greater than ever given on any other measure. So that if majorities mean anything, if the voice of the people means anything, if democracy means anything, the question has been settled and every Congressman, every Senator who supports the suffrage amendment does so in direct violation of the mandates of the people whom he is to represent. This applies also to representatives from woman suffrage States. A representative may be a suffragist and his constituents may be in favor of suffrage, and it may be his obligation to further suffrage in every way so far as local government is concerned. But having secured what he and his constituents desire for their own State, this gives him no right to use his power to inflict his own peculiar politics upon other States when by overwhelming majorities these States have repudiated such politics. There might be some excuse for such action if it could be demonstrated that his own State suffers because of the refusal of other States to concur in its politics, but in the absence of such proof or rather, in face of the contrary proof, it is obviously clear that he has no right to deny another State the freedom of self-government which he claims for his own.

Hon. Elihu Root says: "If some other State or combination of States acquires the power to compel and does compel the State of New York against its will to employ woman suffrage in carrying on its government, that is no step in the exercise of self-government. It is *pro tanto* a destruction of the right of

self-government and a subjection of the people of New York to the government of others. That is what the proposed amendment seeks to accomplish."

The suffragists are working tooth and nail to have woman suffrage forced upon the nation by an amendment to the Federal Constitution in spite of the fact that the combined population of States recently defeating woman suffrage at the polls is 41,685,510, while the combined population of the eleven suffrage States is only 8,194,469.

The Fifteenth Amendment, repugnant as it was to the South, would probably have carried if it had been submitted to the voters of the various States which ratified it. And it will not be denied that the action of these legislatures was in accordance with the sentiment of the country at that time.

The Seventeenth Amendment, providing for the popular election of Senators, was without question acceptable to a majority of the people of the country. At least there had been no test which proved the contrary. But the question involved in the Susan B. Anthony Amendment has been submitted to the voters of this country and has been rejected by them. Herein lies the difference between this and other amendments that have been enacted.

A principle is involved greater than the principle of States' right, and that is the principle of the people's rights. Susan B. Anthony in 1884 appealed for a Federal amendment on the ground that the majority of the voters of the country were against woman suffrage and should not be given a chance to decide the question.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper says: "We have had enough of appealing to the individual voter with his secret ballot. We propose to force suffrage upon them through a Federal amendment." Now the secret ballot is the acme of democratic government, and yet it is the man with his secret ballot the suffragists propose to disfranchise. Why? *The Woman Voter* answers: "Legislatures are more sensitive politically to party dictation, party political debts and business interests than are the voters." In other words, legislatures must vote in the open and thereby expose themselves to the threatened revenge of the suffragists and with unlimited money and constant threats the latter hope to accomplish their desires. Have the advocates of any other amendment ever had the temerity to state that their object in pushing a Federal amendment was to disfranchise the voter and to abolish the secret ballot? Does any other amendment seek to do this?

Suffragists are trying to take advantage of the amendment provisions to throttle democracy and destroy local self-government. Can any representative in Congress deny this? Does any representative believe that it was the intent of the framers of the Constitution who made provisions for its amendment that it should be employed to thwart the will of the people?

When the original Articles of Confederation were being debated in Congress shortly after the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, proposed that they should not be amended by the majority of the States' representatives "unless the majority of States concurring should also comprise a majority of the inhabitants of the United States."

But the Congress did even more than this. It provided so jealously for the safeguarding of individual State's rights that no amendment could be passed unless adopted by all of the thirteen States. As a result, single States in many instances defeated measures of great importance, such as provisions for the national defense and the raising of funds for the payment of debts contracted by the Congress for supplies to the Revolutionary Army.

Therefore, when the present Constitution was adopted in 1787, it was provided that it could be amended in the interests of national security without the unanimous consent of the States. The framers of the Constitution, however, never dreamed that three-quarters of the number of States would not include the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the United States, as is the case to-day, where twelve States—all of which have

recently rejected woman suffrage—actually contain the majority of the people of the country.

The amending of the Federal Constitution by a vote of three-fourths of all the States was supposed to insure not only the rights of the majority of the States, but of the individual States. It was never intended that the Federal Government, under this instrument, should coerce and dictate to the States on matters of local concern.

That the suffragists have tried by every means in their power to juggle through a Federal amendment under these circumstances speaks volumes for their estimation of democracy and patriotism, and their understanding of the vital problems of the country they aspire to rule.

We use the word "juggle" advisedly. When a Congressman objects to voting for the amendment, the suffragist tells him that he is not really voting for woman suffrage, but for its submission to the various States. She conceals, if she can, the fact that if once passed through Congress, the amendment will give her and her kind the right to camp out at every capital a hundred years if necessary, to annoy every State Legislature until thirty-six of them have ratified the amendment. And a bare majority is sufficient for this purpose in each case.

There was never in the history of this country so unfair, so undemocratic and so partisan a proposition presented to the United States Congress as the proposal to enfranchise women without their consent, in States where the people have registered an emphatic decision against this experiment, and in States where women suffrage would be an absolute menace to good government.

With but one or two exceptions, there is not a State in the Union that can amend its Constitution without a popular vote, and the fact that the United States Constitution does not similarly require a vote of the people to amend it places a solemn responsibility on those in whose hands the power is placed to vote as he believes the people would vote and as they have voted where the opportunity has been afforded them.

It is generally believed that to amend the Constitution of the United States, both houses of Congress must pass the measure by a two-thirds vote and that it must be ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the States. But this is not strictly true. A Federal Amendment does not require a two-thirds vote of the entire membership of each house of Congress. Precedent has sanctioned the rule that two-thirds of the members voting, a quorum being present, is sufficient to pass an amendment. A quorum consists of a majority of the members. In the present House of Representatives this is 218, and two-thirds of this number is 146. In the Senate a quorum is 48, and a two-thirds vote would be 33, so that this measure, defeated by a large majority of men and repugnant to a larger majority of the women, might pass Congress by 179 votes, or slightly over one-third of its membership.

At the present time there are eleven full suffrage States which would, in all probability, ratify the measure in order to justify their own fanaticism. There are seven other States where last winter the legislatures betrayed the people and adopted statutory suffrage in opposition to the wishes of the electorate. These seven legislatures could in all probability be depended upon to ratify the amendment also, and since there is no limit to the time for such ratification and no chance to rescind a favorable action on the measure, it is not difficult to see a possible triumph through the effort of the huge lobbies maintained by the suffrage millions which infest the capitals of every State where woman suffrage is an issue before the legislature.

A similar case to the Susan B. Anthony Amendment could be hypothesized. In the year 1904, with Congress more than two-thirds Republican, there were 32 States with Republican legislatures. Suppose an amendment to the United States Constitution had been proposed making only Republicans eligible to

Federal offices. The Republican majority was large enough in Congress at that time to have passed such an amendment. Thirty-two States had Republican legislatures, which could have immediately ratified the measure. Inside of four years two more States had elected Republican legislatures. There were forty-five States in the Union at that time, so that the necessary three-fourths of the States could have ratified the amendment before 1908.

Or, take the situation to-day. There are 54 Democrats in the Senate and 216 Democrats in the House. If, as before stated, 33 votes in the Senate and 146 in the House are all that are necessary to pass an amendment, the Democrats could propose an amendment to the Constitution, making only Democrats eligible to office. To-day there are 21 States whose legislatures are Democratic. These might immediately vote to ratify. Since there is no limit to the time for such ratification and since favorable action on an amendment cannot be rescinded, it is not impossible to suppose that in the next twenty-five years, fifteen other States may have elected Democratic legislatures, which would complete the number necessary, and the Democrats would be entrenched in Washington to stay forever. "If not, why not?"

THE PRESENT SITUATION

THE Federal Amendment is losing friends very rapidly according to the various polls of the Senate taken since 1914.

On March 19th of that year the Senate voted in favor of the amendment by a majority of one, the vote being 35 to 34 (27 not voting). In November of 1915 the Chicago *Herald* took a poll of the Senate, which showed a decided drift against the amendment. According to this poll, 38 favored the amendment, 43 opposed, with 15 non-committal.

Recently the New York *Herald* took a poll with the following result:

For the amendment—Democrats.....	20
Republicans	16
Total.....	36
Against the amendment—Democrats.....	29
Republicans	21
Total.....	50
Non-committal	10

Commenting on this result, the *Herald* says:

Nation-wide woman suffrage cannot command the necessary two-thirds vote in either branch of Congress.

It cannot even muster a majority vote in either house. The *Herald* canvass is further substantiated by the admission of suffrage leaders in both House and Senate. So certain would be the defeat of woman suffrage that no efforts will be made by the suffrage leaders in Congress to have a vote on the resolution at this session. It is admitted by Senators and Representatives friendly to suffrage, and coming from suffrage States, that the cause of woman suffrage has been seriously injured by the demonstrators in front of the White House by the ultra-radical suffragists. Several of them, although not willing to be quoted by name, expressed the fear that the cause had been set back two or three years by these recent occurrences.

* * * * *

A suffrage leader in the Senate with intimate knowledge of the situation made this statement to the *Herald* today:

"I have made no man-to-man poll at this session, but I feel certain that the odds are so much against us that any attempt to force the resolution to a vote at this session would be futile.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the suffrage cause has been injured by the demonstration in front of the White House."

* * * * *

In spite of the advice of J. A. H. Hopkins, democratic national committeeman of New Jersey, that the only way to stop picketing is to pass the Federal Amendment, Congress does not appear likely to take that view of the situation.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISM AND THE WAR

By MRS. A. J. GEORGE, in the *Anti-Suffrage Review*

THE demand of the Suffragists for the ballot as a reward for their loyalty to the nation in its hour of greatest peril, is the crowning evidence of their failure to appreciate the meaning of government, and their utter unfitness to assume the political burdens they would force upon their unwilling sisters.

They claim to speak for the women of America, and the corollary of their extraordinary demand is that, if they do not get their price, the women of the nation will refuse to do their duty; that if they are not given the ballot, their answer will be treason.

It is difficult to imagine a more outrageous insult to the women of the United States.

The Suffragists represent, fortunately, a very small minority of their sex, and the great majority of women, who realize the futility and the menace of Woman Suffrage, resent with all their power the base imputation that their loyalty is contingent upon any reward except the reward for which every man and woman who is opposing Prussianism is contending—the consciousness of having given their all in the battle for democracy.

Woman suffrage is a sweeping revolutionary doctrine that must not be decided from notions of chivalry, or, as Mrs. Funk, of the Women's Council of National Defense, says, "in desperation or in self-defense." The question is not what some women want and other women do not want, but what is best for the State. And until the Suffragists can convince us that it will not weaken the State to dilute its electorate with an element whose decisions in crises affecting the life of the State are determined by emotion and sentiment and treason, they cannot expect us to take their demands seriously.

When Miss Rankin stood on the floor of the National House of Representatives, she said, "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war," she showed conclusively what the nation might expect from a Congress of women. It was her woman's heart that spoke, and not her head, for what she meant was, "I want to stand by my country; my reason tells me that to do so I must vote for war, but my heart refuses to permit me." She preferred disloyalty to patriotism, because her heart's promptings overbalanced her reasoning faculties in the contemplation of war.

If the men of Congress had been as weak as the woman of Congress in that moment of trial, how abject would be our position to-day in the world conflict of democracy against autocracy, of civilization against barbarism!

Government, as Calhoun so tersely defined it, is protection, and protection is the business of man. Woman's inherent incapacity for self-defense, her absolute need of protection as the mother of the race, place her inevitably behind the firing line. There her heart, her emotions, her sentiments, may play their part, and it is an important part. But the State does not rest upon these elements, necessary as they are to the happiness and well-being of the race. It rests in the final analysis—much as we would have it otherwise—upon brute force; and the burden of that force must continue to fall, as it has always fallen, upon the shoulders of men.

"But," it is argued, "see what women are doing to-day to aid the nation. Surely the service they are rendering is as necessary to the successful prosecution of the war as is the service of men?"

It is no part of my purpose to try to minimize the importance of women's service to the nation. I wish to point out, however, that the men of this nation could carry on the war without the assistance of their women, if, unfortunately, they were forced to do so; but without the aid of their men, the women would be hopeless. Men can take the place of women

in every war activity in which women are now engaged, but women cannot take the place of men upon the firing line, where the supreme sacrifice must be made, and it would not be desirable that they should do so.

In considering this question, however, we must be guided not by what women are doing and can do under a government controlled by men, but by what they would be likely to do under a government in which they had an equal voice with men. The war decision was made by men, and is being enforced by men. The only woman who had a voice in the making of that decision proved unequal to her trust. She proved herself unfit to participate in the government of a great nation when the ultimate test came.

But how about her suffragist sisters? What would they have done in her place? Their utterances and affiliations supply the answer, and as I read it, it is that they would have deserted the nation as did Miss Rankin, in its hour of need. Most of them are peace-at-any-price propagandists. All of them put suffrage first, the nation's welfare second. They refused to agree to a truce on the suffrage question during the war, a truce proposed so that all the women of the nation might give themselves unreservedly to patriotic work. They are now bartering suffrage for loyalty.

Before the war they were opposed to preparedness for national defense. Suffragists organized the ridiculous Ford Peace Party. Suffragists organized and Suffragists compose the Woman's Peace Party, with its farcical declaration that "wars will cease when women get the vote." To-day they have their Anti-Enlistment Leagues, designed to prevent young men from joining the army and navy, and are engaged in various pacifist activities, some of them coming dangerously near to the line of treason, and all tending to discourage the growth of the spirit of patriotism, which is essential to the life of the nation.

The "American Union Against Militarism" is a national organization the purpose of which is to oppose the efforts of the Government to raise an army by conscription, and the efforts of patriotic men and women to safeguard the nation's future by providing for universal military training and service. The officers of this organization are all suffragists, among them being such prominent workers in the "cause" as Miss Jane Addams, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Zona Gale, and Crystal Eastman.

In recent addresses Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has told the people of this country that the suffragists are "growing rebellious." This statement, made by Mrs. Catt in Columbus, Ohio, on May 13th, sounds very much like a threat of disloyalty.

"Women are asked to mobilize their forces in aid of a Government which has wronged them. . . . We have been patient, ineffably patient, but we grow rebellious because the wrong done to the women of the United States is rendered more conspicuous by contrast with other lands."

It would be interesting to know where Mrs. Catt got her right to speak for the "women of the United States." She is entitled without doubt to speak for the suffragists. These women may be, as she says, in a rebellious mood because of a fancied wrong, but I make free to say that the mass of our women are not rebels, but patriots, and that the wrong which they fear is that Mrs. Catt's demands will be granted.

Mrs. Catt says the lack of the vote hampers woman's efficiency in this crisis. When the war broke out, women wrote to Washington to know how they could help, and they were told that they could best serve, as anti-suffragists have always contended, by practicing thrift and economy in their households, where, according to the Secretary of Agriculture, the

waste of each year amounts to \$700,000,000. Certainly this would buy a good many Liberty Bonds, and maintain a good many boys in the trenches, and it is a kind of service that I believe even Mrs. Catt could perform without the aid of the ballot.

It must be clear to all who are familiar with the suffragist-pacifist propaganda, that the suffragists are opposed to war in any circumstances. That in their opinion our greatest chance of happiness would be in maintaining a state of helplessness akin to that of China, and in protesting against repeated violations of our most sacred rights with a display of the white feather.

"We had better blot the mote from our own eyes before we go forth to blot it from the Prussian eyes," says Mrs. Catt. In other words, we should not go to war until we have enfranchised the suffragists. Here, then, we have the suffragist posi-

tion in a nutshell: "We should not fight until suffragists get the vote, and we would not fight, if the suffragists had the vote." You pay your money, and you take your choice.

The suffragists are protesting a belated loyalty, but let us not forget that they place a price upon it, and that that price would not only constitute an intolerable injustice to the great majority of women, but would create an element of weakness in the nation that would menace its very life. It is indeed a deplorable situation if the contingent patriots must be rewarded at the expense, not only of the nation, but of the mass of women whose patriotism is the very fiber of their being. I know of nothing that would be more distasteful to these women than being forced into politics, and it would surely be a poor return for their patriotic services to saddle them with this burden, in order that the disloyal members of their sex might be satisfied.

THE CONGRESSWOMAN. ACT II

SAID Miss Jeannette Rankin when elected to Congress: "A woman in Congress will be like a suffrage banner on constant parade," and we believe her, but like other suffrage banners on parade, she is demonstrating what kind of politics this suffrage movement promises. The last parade of this banner brought out the following statement from the Helena (Mont.) *Independent*, which did not oppose her election:

"Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin blames John D. Ryan, president of the Anaconda Copper Company, for all labor trouble and I. W. W. outrages in Butte.

"All the *Independent* need say as to the false ideas which this girl is giving people of the United States with regard to Montana, is that the wives of the Butte miners know she is not speaking the truth; the wives of Montana farmers who now see what crops have been produced, standing in the field because men will not work; the wives of industrious, law-abiding members of labor unions throughout the State, know Jeannette Rankin is not telling the truth.

"If Mr. Ryan is to blame for the I. W. W. activities in Butte, Miss Rankin must blame the Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota farmers for the trouble they have had with this lawless organization of idlers of whose cause Miss Rankin is now the champion in the House of Representatives.

"Miss Rankin announces through the *Missoulian* that she will be a candidate for the United States Senate next year on a 'labor platform.'

"The line-up will then be:

I. W. W. Organizations
Miss Rankin

Radical Union Labor
Theoretical Mothers

Slackers and Traitors
Pacifists

Versus

Montana Farmers

Montana Mining Interests

Montana Lumber Industries

Montana Business

Legitimate Labor Unions

Real Mothers of Montana

"Now, Miss Rankin cannot disown the constituents she has chosen. She is going to come out to Montana next year as a candidate for the United States Senate. She will hope to win by attacking John D. Ryan and his many big and commendable enterprises; her campaign will be to create prejudice against the men who employ other men for wages—the mining companies, the farmers and incorporated ranches, the industrial enterprises

and business institutions of whatever kind, known to people of Miss Rankin's school as the 'capitalistic class.'

The present quarrel of Miss Rankin with John D. Ryan is over the rustling card system. This is only an excuse for which she has grabbed. The rustling card system gives the companies some check on who shall be placed on the pay rolls in their mines by denying certain individuals even the right to go about the properties looking for work.

"No one but a Socialist, a radical labor agitator or an I. W. W. could object to an employer of labor insisting on having something to say who is to handle his property and work in his mine or on his ranch.

"There are certain men in Butte and elsewhere in the world, who by their acts, have proved themselves as unworthy and dangerous men to be permitted to work in or about mines with other men. There are men in this State and neighboring States who are unworthy of being permitted to even hunt for work on the farms.

"The man who is denied a rustling card in Butte is not the man who is and always has been looking for work, but the man who has and is eternally looking for trouble.

"That's the answer to Miss Rankin's petty little excuse about the rustling card system.

"Our Congresswoman should remember that her constituents are not only in trouble in Butte, but throughout the State of Montana. The rustling card system cannot be blamed for the trouble on the farms and railroads and lumber camps. John D. Ryan is not to blame for the threats of Miss Rankin's friends to burn the crops in the fields. The rustling card and Mr. Ryan cannot be charged directly or indirectly with disturbances in Oregon which resulted in the friends of Miss Rankin poisoning some 950 head of farmers' cattle. The Klamath County farmers would not know a rustling card from a coal ticket, yet they have been in trouble for a year or more with the elements represented by Miss Rankin in Congress.

"Butte decreed the defeat of Governor Sam V. Stewart because he sent troops into that camp and closed its saloons. The people of the State answered the challenge of the rioters of Silver Bow County.

"The same elements are now being besought by Miss Rankin to send her to the United States Senate. It's such an awful travesty that it seems absurd to discuss it. But if Butte has decreed the election of this girl because she votes against war and champions the cause of the I. W. W., the people of the State of Montana will again answer the challenge of the lawless element of Silver Bow County.

"Miss Rankin is choosing her constituents for next year's Congressional election. Surely by next fall she will be actually carrying a red card in her stocking."

WASHINGTON NEWS AND NOTES

By MRS. GEORGE F. RICHARDS

IN many states it has been the woman opposed to Woman Suffrage who were first to respond to the call by President Wilson that women aid in war work. It was the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage which took the lead in framing resolutions of loyalty to the nation at the outbreak of the war. Take the work of the Red Cross, for instance, and see what a strong part in that great organization women who are opposed to suffrage are playing. It is against the policy and practice of the anti-suffrage associations to announce their humanitarian and charitable work by blare of trumpets, moreover the Red Cross is recognized as distinctly non-partizan and non-political in its work. As officials of that great organization no one expresses an opinion on any of the questions of the day. Creed, race, politics, religion and suffrage are all left on the outside when one enters Red Cross domain. But as individuals their personal opinions are well known and fully recognized. Consider for a moment the tremendous scope and efficiency of the work done by Miss Mabel Boardman, as a member of the Executive Board of the American Red Cross, and in whose hands rest the gravest of responsibility. Miss Boardman is the only woman member of the board. She is second in rank only to the chairman and the vice-chairman. Yet she has never found it necessary to espouse the cause of Woman Suffrage in order to gain the high place she has attained as an executive officer and organizer. Miss Boardman believes in woman and in the greatness of woman's work, but she believes in doing it in a thoroughly businesslike and womanly way—not by shouting for a vote and parading with seditious banners. You don't find Miss Boardman doing any of those things. But you find her directing a tremendous work that reaches out to the farthest nations of the globe. Miss Boardman has strong convictions and one of them is that the Red Cross is not a political organization, and that politics, party questions, suffrage or any other question of the day which has more than one side, shall not get mixed up with Red Cross work, so she deals harmoniously with all factions. But if any one wants to see a notable example of what a woman—who has not espoused suffrage—can do for a nation at war, they have only to turn to the work being done by Miss Boardman, as the only woman member of the Executive Board of the Red Cross.

The family of Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, also furnishes many examples. Not only is Mrs. Wadsworth an ardent worker in war relief organizations—she is on the executive committee of the District of Columbia War Service Committee, and a member of the Food Conservation Committee, does much Red Cross work and for other organizations as well—but the entire Wadsworth family are doing much war aid work. Elliott Wadsworth, vice-chairman of the American Red Cross Executive Board is a cousin—Mrs. Herbert W. Wadsworth has opened her great house here for Red Cross work, and Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, mother of Senator Wadsworth of New York, is closely identified with the patriotic work of many organizations. And these women are all too busy doing good work for a world at war, to stop to shout for votes.

Last year in addressing the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage Miss Boardman called attention to the fact that the co-operation of the Red Cross begun the first week after war had been declared in Europe.

The following resolution passed July 29, 1916, by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage shows the firm stand taken by that organization from the very beginning of the war, in the determination to stand loyally by the country and its flag. I quote it here as an inspiration to all who read: "Be it resolved: By the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage: That in harmony with our work for home

and humanity the facilities of this organization be dedicated to the service of 'America first.' That we co-operate with the United States Government, the American Red Cross and other patriotic organizations in contributing to the comfort of the men who serve the nation on land and sea; and in providing for the protection and subsistence of the women and children who remain at home." That shows the sentiment of women who put home, humanity and their country before politics and a desire for personal self-advancement or a desire to enter the lists as voters and office-holders. Contrast their attitude with those selfish and disloyal women who only a month ago said "suffrage is the most important thing before Congress and the nation; why should we be asked to aid in Red Cross work or make sacrifices, if we cannot vote?"

All over the United States women opposed to suffrage are standing by the colors and doing magnificent work for the Red Cross and other societies devoted to the comfort of soldiers and sailors. But they are not shouting their wares from every house-top—they are too busy working for the army and the navy and the boys at the front, to stop to blaze a trail which leads merely to notoriety and ends at their own door.

At the convention last spring of the National Association, Miss Boardman called attention to the fact that as men of military age are called to the colors it devolves largely on woman to take their places at home and to attend to the details of the Red Cross work. She appealed to women to realize how important is their place in time of war. Said Miss Boardman: "A great many men are taken from active service and women must run the machinery of the government * * * the spirit of the Red Cross has nothing to do with creeds or party politics. It is working simply for humanity. Can we not rise to the feeling that the service to our country is one thing we can unite on? The Red Cross has neither race nor creed nor political party; it is for mankind and for the service of our country."

Now it stands to reason, even with all other things equal, that women who devote their time and attention to making hundreds of seditious banners, heckling the President and Congress, besieging passers by, "doing time" at the district jail for breaking laws and inciting riots, can have but little interest or time to devote to humanitarian work. Moreover they are not in sympathy with it. They have made that plain by voice and action. The women who do Red Cross work, who knit socks and roll bandages for the soldiers and sailors have no time for street-corner harangues for "Woman's Rights." It is the "picket at the kitchen door" to quote Miss Chittenden—it is the fireside woman who does her bit between household duties; the girl at the desk, the girl at the counter, the girl in shop and factory who utilizes her spare moments in helping in whatever way she can, who is the true patriotic woman citizen. These women do not regard the stars and stripes as "a mere piece of bunting." They are the loyal women of the nation at war, and they put to shame those women who spend their time clamoring for the vote; who parade with unseemly and traitorous banners; and who, notwithstanding the nation is in the throes of a bloody war, work only for personal gain and notoriety. The true American woman is too busy doing good and loyal work for her family and her country to stop to clamor for "recognition."

The widely varying view-point of what constitutes patriotism, as shown by those two classes of women, is pretty clearly shown by their recent public statements. Said Miss Rankin, the only woman Congressman: "I regard Woman Suffrage the greatest question before the American people." Said a militant picket by the name of Burns: "I am astonished we should be asked to do Red Cross work when we have no rights of our own." Said Mrs. Wadsworth: "Red Cross work and war relief work are cruel and pressing needs, and should not be slighted for any

other consideration. * * * I believe in a woman's star of destiny, but I believe it shines far above the field of politics."

* * *

From its splendid white marble building down on 17th street, the American Red Cross is reaching out to all the nations of the world. The new structure—dedicated to the loyal women of this great nation—was scarcely completed when the need of tremendous work for suffering Europe put every inch of space into immediate use. The building is one of the finest in that notable row on 17th street which embraces the Corcoran Art Gallery, the Pan-American Building and the Memorial Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Red Cross structure cost something like a million dollars—in these days when we deal with billions for National Defense the exact figure doesn't count for much—and is built along very beautiful and simple lines. I was there a day or two ago for some specific information, and the first thing which impressed me was the entire absence of anything suggestive of the Red Cross, as we are apt to think of it. To be sure, outside the building a Red Cross banner flies alongside the Stars and Stripes, but no Red Cross insignia is visible in the great marble halls; no white-capped nurses with silent tread and red cross on sleeves were found among the visitors or attendants. It was a huge business institution that confronted me, with no outward sign of the wonderful humanitarian and military work in which it is engaged. The magnitude of the work now undertaken has swept away the last vestige of the little personal touch which marked it in the early days. Its enormous membership, the millions of dollars, it handles in funds, the millions of soldiers it rescues and aids, require strong executive management, and the Red Cross of to-day is an international organization of vast scope and of inestimable value. Within the past year it has added more than 2,000 chapters, in the formation of which the Women Opposed to Suffrage have been individually active. Here in Washington, as elsewhere, the members of the anti-suffrage organization are knitting, rolling bandages, conserving food, and making Christmas gifts for the boys at the front. The Red Cross is preparing to send Christmas boxes to soldiers across the sea and to those in camps, and there are something like 600,000 men to be thus remembered with gifts which will range all the way from socks and comfort bags to pipes and tobacco. "You don't know how much those home things mean to the soldier who is away from home carrying the flag of his country," said General Pershing just before leaving for France. And it is safe to say that it will be the women who realize what "home" means to a man who will do most of the work.

* * *

Are the pickets at the White House gates Bricks without Straw? Certainly they have not the stamina to stand by their own convictions. For they and their friends squealed pretty loudly over the jail sentence meted out to them for obstructing traffic by the display of those traitorous "Kaiser Wilson" banners, and thereby causing an incipient riot. The women want the notoriety of arrest, but when it came to a matter of serving sentence at Occoquan jail alongside other "birds" sent down for various offences, it became quite another matter. They could stand all day long at the White House gates and make faces at the President; they could call him names and flaunt seditious banners as he passed in and out; they could face a rough, jeering crowd of indignant men and boys, knowing all the while that they were under efficient police protection which would save them from bodily harm. They could clamor loudly for "equal rights with men," but when it came to standing up and taking their medicine like men, they weren't in it for a minute. "Help, help, help" went out their S. O. S. call to Senators and Members of Congress, to help find some flaw in the law under which they had been arrested. But the funniest and most inconsistent part of the farce came when they appealed from their jail sentence and promptly engaged a MAN to defend them, although the District of Columbia has a large quota of capable

women attorneys. Not only did they appeal to men lawyers to defend them, but their cries went out to men from their home states, instead of to the wives and sisters, even though the men appealed to come from suffrage states, where the women of their families are voters and supposed to be the rightful defenders of other women "in distress." It was a case of "Let George do it" when it came to trusting their "cause" to another woman.

* * *

When Miss Rankin, Congresswoman from Montana, in her maiden speech espoused the cause of the I. W. W. riots, she made an unfavorable impression which it will be hard to wipe out. Moreover when she stated that the cause of suffrage "is the first and greatest question now before the nation" she put the great war in the second rank. This did not please even her suffrage men friends in Congress, especially those who have sons serving in the new army. In fact her speech struck false notes from beginning to end.

* * *

It may be regarded as a certainty that if the suffrage amendment comes out of either Senate or House committees this session, it will not come to a vote on the floor. The suffragists are afraid to permit it, as they are advised on all sides that a vote at this time would mean defeat. Even men from suffrage states are prepared to vote against it until the suffragists show both the power and the desire to stop the nefarious picketing and heckling with seditious banners that has marked the suffrage campaign of the past year.

The "Jail Ladies of Occoquan" are still trying to get their case before Congress, but thus far have been unsuccessful. In fact they have got a basketful of advice from Senators and Representatives, but it all pointed to "mending their ways." Suffragists of Delaware appealed to the Congressional representatives, only to be turned sharply down, as were similar petitions from other women to representatives of other states. The Delaware women made a big effort to get their cries for help incorporated in the Congressional Record. They found Senator Saulsbury and Congressman Polk did not regard their White House antics either as peaceful or legal and both gentlemen positively refused to have anything to do with the case. As the Senate Committee on suffrage is a packed committee in its favor, of course if a report is made at this time it is likely to be a favorable one—but the IF in the case is a very big one, although the chairman of that committee is daily beset with militant women who threaten to stick the knife between his political ribs if he hesitates to do their bidding. And at this moment Aunt Susan's amendment is sleeping sweetly in the darkest pigeon-hole of the committee's desk.

ANOTHER SUFFRAGIST CANARD

SUFFRAGISTS from Maine to California have been circulating a report of a purported interview with Hon. Elihu Root, in which he is quoted as saying that his observations in Russia of the women in war in that country had entirely changed his opinion with reference to the entrance of women into public and political life, the inference being that Mr. Root had become a convert to woman suffrage. Those who have read the statement will be glad to have that point settled, and we publish with pleasure a letter from Mr. Root which is conclusive:

CLINTON, ONEIDA COUNTY, N. Y.,
August 29, 1917.

Dear Mrs. Wadsworth:

I have received your letter of August 25th about the alleged interview with me regarding woman suffrage, upon my return from Russia. There never was any such interview. The article reporting it—coming from I do not know what source—was three-fourths false. I have not at any time since my return from Russia expressed to anyone any opinion about women voting or fighting in Russia, where it is none of my business, or about women voting or fighting here, as to which I have not changed my opinion at all.

With kind regards,

Always faithfully yours,

MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.,
Mount Morris, N. Y.

ELIHU ROOT.

WHAT DR. SHAW REALLY SAID

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW is vigorously protesting against a quotation published in our columns some time ago attributing to her the statement, "What is the flag but a piece of bunting?"

Dr. Shaw declares that we have taken the sentence away from its context, thus destroying a sentiment which, when quoted in conjuncture with the whole paragraph, becomes at once a most inspiring and patriotic declaration. She says that on the occasion of its delivery in Philadelphia it was loudly and enthusiastically cheered for many minutes. She then gives the paragraph which excited such enthusiasm. As now given by Dr. Shaw the speech loses its objectionable note, but this is *not* the speech from which we quoted. The latter was delivered on November 26, 1916, before the Socialist Literary Society of Philadelphia, and while her reference to our flag brought great applause from her Socialist audience, it brought so much criticism from all parts of the country that it was afterwards recast and its objectionable features eliminated. This latter address is the one Dr. Shaw quotes to-day. Since she objects to the sentence being divorced from its context we gladly give the part of her address which included her now (in)famous utterance.

The *North American* (Philadelphia) of November 27, 1916, reports her as saying: "The flag is only a piece of cloth on a stick. Why do we love it? Not because it is our country's flag, but because we see in it a hope that some day it will be the symbol of justice, equality, fair play, waving over a country where justice and equality and fair play will dominate the life of a nation."

Thus, indirectly, she charges that this is not a country of justice and equality and fair play to-day and that our flag is not now worthy our love. Further she said: "We cry out with indignation when a half-drunk, half-barbarian Mexican spits on our flag. We say let's go to war. We are ready to kill the Mexicans and send our young men to be killed because our flag has been insulted. We say we must win the respect of Mexico. I would rather lose the respect of Mexico than have any part in a nation that overrides the small nation and slaughters its people. We will not win the respect of Mexico or the world until our flag symbolizes freedom, justice and the right of the humble as well as the well-to-do."

Dr. Shaw says that her audience broke into loud and prolonged applause. Can any one doubt that her patriotism, as exemplified in the above quotation, would receive the applause of every Socialist, every I. W. W., and every pro-German in the United States?

She declares that the fact that she was appointed as Chairman of the Woman's Department of the Council of National Defense shows her patriotism. There is no question about her appointment, although most people will question that this brand of patriotism secured it.

At the National American Woman Suffrage Association Convention, September 9, 1916, she said: "America does not need military and industrial preparedness, if it is prepared to live within its own borders. The great evil that has come into the world has come because a nation wished to protect its borders and despoil another country." Was it for such patriotism as this that Dr. Shaw was appointed to the position she occupies above all other patriotic women of the United States?

The *New York Tribune*, December 8, 1913, quotes her as saying: "There are three women in the United States to-day who might occupy the Presidential chair with greater success than any of the Republicans, Democrats or Whigs that have so far appeared. They are Jane Addams, Mrs. Carrie Chapman

Catt and Mrs. Joseph Bowen, of Chicago. Susan B. Anthony would have made a better executive than Abraham Lincoln."

In the same interview she said that *she* did not aspire to President Wilson's seat, but she would like to be a policeman. She had yearned for this for twenty years. She also said that the Presidents of the country to date had been "abject failures" and that the men in all lines of government were the same.

Since war has been declared some of the pacifist suffragists have returned to the fold they denounced a year ago, and, like the prodigal son, they have been awarded the honors which have been withheld from those who have borne the heat and the burden of the day. There is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety-and-nine just persons which need no repentance.

WOMEN'S WAR

DESPITE attacks by men and repudiation by women, the fanatical White House pickets continue their crusade. The problem has now become a more serious one for the two million earnest women forming the National Association than for the men.

These militant demonstrations are so seriously menacing the suffrage cause that organization leaders in New York announce in "The Evening World" that they will welcome suggestions how to deal with their fanatical sisters.

Man's efforts to end this nuisance have proved so ineffective that a splendid opportunity is afforded the strong organization of sensible, sincere women workers for suffrage to give an example of their capacity to improve on man-made government. What do the women of New York recommend?—*New York Evening World*.

A SENATOR'S BRAVE WIFE

SENATORS' wives have always exerted a lot of influence in Washington. They have always played their roles in the veiled drama of capital city chess playing, in the pushing of some men and some schemes forward, in the detailing of army officers, in the promotion of navy officers, in a hundred and one fields where a word in time might save nine. But in Dolly Madison's day a letter of protesting criticism from a Senator's wife to the President of the United States would have been close to lese majesty, and this view has not wholly disappeared.

That is why it took courage for Mrs. Alice H. Wadsworth, wife of the senior senator from the greatest State in the Union, to address President Woodrow Wilson, pointing out that only clemency, not justice, was in the pardon of the suffragists, who had gone to the workhouse rather than pay a fine, to gain "notoriety and publicity," and asking the Chief Executive these pertinent questions:

"Is it wise to fan the flame of class jealousy by allowing the deportation from a State (in cattle cars) of undesirable citizens in one section of the country and permit women of wealth, family and position to violate the laws and go unpunished in another? * * * Can it be necessary that, to preserve peace within our borders in this time of stress and imperative need for progress, the machinery of Government should be halted that these flies on the wheel may bask in the light of publicity?"

Thousands of thinking men and hundreds of thousands of thinking women have wanted to put just these questions to the President.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

MAINE GOES WHILE SUFFRAGISTS PREACH THEIR WHIMSEY

(New York Times, September 12, 1917)

MAINE is the fourteenth State in which woman suffrage has been voted down at the polls since 1912. Most of the Dirigo politicians "threw their whole souls" into the campaign for emancipation. With their eloquence and their charm feminist leaders did their best to enlighten the Down Easters. Former Senator Obadiah Gardner led, or tried to lead, the State Grange to the assault upon chains and slavery. Former Senator Johnson, former State Attorney-General Pattangall, a mighty man among the Democrats; most of the Maine members of Congress, pleaded for suffrage. Colonel Roosevelt sent his vigorous solicitations to a State once full of his worshippers. Mr. Wilson, constantly magnanimous, gave the benefit of his great influence, and the public regard and respect for him, beyond and aside from party lines, to the amendment.

The weather was bland. The vote was heavy for a special election. Suffrage was beaten in the cities. It was beaten in the country towns. It was beaten nearly two one. "We are counting on the Maine soldiers," said the Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York, still nursing unconquerable hope in spite of the early election returns. Well, the regiment named after Governor Milliken voted "No" by 340 to 151. The One Hundred and Third Regiment (Second Maine Infantry) voted "No" by 274 to 140. And so on. Soldier and civilian, farmer and factory operative, city and country, rejected the Cause. It was a smashing defeat.

"There will probably never be another suffrage campaign in Maine," says Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, "save for purposes of ratification. The Federal suffrage amendment is surely going to pass and soon. * * * More and more our work concentrates upon Washington as the immediate focal point." It is no fault of Mrs. Catt, or of the reasonable suffragists, the majority, but the "pestering" which the suffrage Extreme Left has been and is still engaged in at Washington has concentrated public attention and disgust upon that spectacle of feminine wisdom, patriotism and political capacity. The feeling aroused by

it, however unjust to the saner aspects of the suffrage agitation, is deep, strong and universal. That feeling, in itself fatal to the extension of woman suffrage, must have counted for something, for much, in the Maine verdict, but there is a stronger reason. When the nation is fighting for its life, when the greatest and the gravest issues have stirred it to its depths, woman suffrage seems, nay is, but an impertinence and a futility. When our young men are assembling and training for battle, it is natural that the ability to fight should be exalted, that the plea of woman for the ballot should fall on deaf ears. Nevada and Montana, won three years ago, are likely to be the only popular triumphs that the suffragists can boast of for some years to come. State Legislatures remain their only hope and the most prosperous field for their blandishments.

"The defeat of the woman constitutional amendment in Maine," says Mrs. Norman Whitehouse, "has no bearing at all on the suffrage situation in New York State. The carrying of a State amendment for suffrage is a matter of education. The Maine voters have not been sufficiently educated, that is all." In 1915 New York State gave a majority of 188,313 against woman suffrage. It was then insufficiently educated. How great will be that majority this Fall, when the State has been enlightened by the decorous and sagacious behavior of the Washington martyrs and by the sobering and stern discipline and thought which national peril brings?

When democracy itself is at stake, the "emancipation of woman" is of the smallest moment. It is the misfortune of the suffragists that the question comes up again in a year that finds the voters in no disposition for sentimentality and compliment, intent on urgent dangers and duties, military and economic, irritated by the stress laid by the suffragists on their "emancipation." Amid cruelty, starvation, death on land, death from the air and water, and while the flower of American youth is getting ready for its part in the tragedy of the world, these excellent persons are going up and down the country preaching their whimsey.

A QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY

WHERE the majority of women want to vote, they will vote. But where the majority of women do not want to vote, it is becoming increasingly evident that their ardent sisters who seek the ballot will not be permitted to force it on them. Suffragists believe that voting is something they ought to get if only "one woman in the world" wanted it—but in a democracy we cannot legislate to give a small minority a privilege that would be a burden on the overwhelming majority.

If the suffragists had a practical instead of a theoretical belief in democracy, they would try to win the majority of women before asking for the vote—but their scheme is to get votes in spite of the majority. Their desire is to absolutely circumvent the desire of the majority of women in this respect. It is really the women who have been the stumbling block to suffrage. Realizing this, it has become such a sore spot to suffragists that they attempt to belittle or becloud the opposition of women at all times. The "machine," the "breweries," "capital," "the corporations," and anything else within the limits of feminist imagination are always held accountable before the public for the defeat of "votes for women." It would be poor advertising to admit the truth—and the suffragists are nothing if not good advertisers.

There is no more undemocratic proposition before the public to-day than the proposal to enfranchise women at the behest of the few who want to vote, in spite of the convictions of the majority that they are better represented in the State by moral and educational influence than they would be by political partizanship. On no other political question would anyone pretend that the minority wishes should outweigh the majority will. "Votes for women" and its ally Socialism, have the unenviable distinction of being the only political movements with a program to carry out a minority theory on a basis that the majority "ought to want" it, and should be excluded from consideration if they do not. And they both have the idea that it is "fundamental democracy" they want, merely because it would weigh equitably on individuals.

That it is *not* democratic to force a new burden of expense, taxation and experiment on a country in spite of the majority's will—even though the proposed changes would affect everyone alike—is something their conception of democracy cannot grasp. Forcing women to vote—or neglect a duty—is an unwarranted interference with their real rights to remain free from political service to the State, and a blow at the cornerstone of the democratic principles on which our Government is built.

"THE MERCENARIES"

NO anti-suffragist would have ventured to impute to seekers after suffrage an attitude so ignoble as the women themselves proclaim. From suffrage headquarters in Milwaukee the rallying-cry "Pass the suffrage amendment now, now now!" is reinforced by the reason why. *"It is a war measure. Its passage will release for war work the undivided energies of the largest and best organized group of women in America."*

In other words, suffragists will do war work only if bribed by the concession they are clamoring for. Their patriotism has its price. Their love of country has a string tied to it. Their concern for the nation is conditioned on their being indulged in the particular sweetmeat they have been crying for. Out upon such bargain hunters!

This was not the brand of patriotism that kept Martha Washington knitting early and late to cover the bleeding feet of continental soldiers; it was not the brand that nerved Catherine Schuyler as she set fire with her own hands to her husband's ample wheat-fields rather than have them sustain the enemy; it was not the brand that moved Rebecca Motte herself to supply the combustible arrows, brought by a brother from the Indies, with which to set her mansion house afire when the British were using it for a garrison. Such women made no terms, but freely gave whatever of service or of sacrifice was demanded of them.

Fortunately there still live women more disinterested than the ones who aim to drive a sharp bargain with their imperiled country. The majority do not share the determination of a few to wrest this privilege from their country in her hour of need.

There is valid reason for pride in being numbered among the antis, who, with one accord, have done or are doing for their country whatever their hands find to do, asking no reward but a sense of duty done. This attitude of the suffragists, their outrageous bully-ragging of the President of the United States, to the point of rousing general animosity among citizens of Washington, furnishes a good reason why loyal-hearted women prefer to belong to that division of their sex which has shown itself less self-seeking. They want to line up the unalterably loyal rather than with the faction who have to be paid to back up their convictions.

Women who rank suffrage above loyalty, above patriotism, are recreant not to their sex alone but to humanity. Partizanship has blinded them till they have lost all sense of relative values. That is not the order of mind out of which statesmen are made, or leaders and heroes molded. It takes women to concentrate on a fad, and while issues of priceless moment, of crucial importance, of far-reaching consequence, hang in the balance, to dicker for the vote in open market.

No one can really cheapen women but women themselves.
—Milwaukee Free Press, July 29.

"SNIPING"

(Special Dispatch to the Enquirer)

COLUMBUS, Ohio, August 27.—Determined that the policy of sniping by the suffragists shall come to a close, the League Opposed to Woman's Suffrage to-day engaged legal counsel to protect its interests in the referendum on the Reynolds

Presidential Suffrage Act. Ignoring the period when all the party petitions from the various counties were in the hands of the County Boards of Election for investigation, the suffragists have been moving through the office of the Secretary of State in another fashion.

The policy, apparently, is to attack a county at a time with the evident hope of having sufficient votes thrown out to nullify the petition by reducing it numerically to the point where there will not be names sufficient for a State-wide vote. The League Opposed to Suffrage has been waiting patiently for a show of purpose, and when convinced that the Secretary of State was inclined to listen to the pleas of the women it decided to act.

VESTED IN COUNTY BOARDS

It is contended that the Secretary of State has no right under the law to question the findings made by local county boards of election. By a special enactment of the Willis administration the power to review petitions was vested in county boards of elections, and if a full hearing was regarded as desirable by the objectors, it was provided that the matter shall be taken to the local Common Pleas Court.

After petitions have been certified to the Secretary of State as sufficient, the law says they shall be so regarded by him. The suffragists, however, have taken another view, and in the Franklin County case they had the Secretary return the petitions on the ground that the local board did not make sufficient examination. The opponents declare there is no authority for reviewing the work of the boards.

The matter also seems to have attracted the attention of supporters of the referendum and fears seem to have been expressed that unrestricted conduct on the part of enemies of the referendum in this particular case might have bad precedents. This condition is the basis of a statement given out by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, head of the suffragists, in defending her organization against charges of trying to discredit the referendum. She asserted her loyalty to the principle of a popular decision on public questions.

RECOURSE TO COURTS PROBABLE

It is probable that Secretary of State William D. Fulton will be advised to-morrow that the League Opposed to Woman's Suffrage "views with alarm" any aid given to the suffragists in sniping against the county petitions that have been upheld. There will be recourse to legal rights if the aggressions continue.

The League Opposed to Suffrage takes the position that as the General Assembly acted in opposition to the last recorded expression of the people, the voters must have an opportunity to record their opinions with respect to the Reynolds act.

While there has been developed the fact that is an understanding between the Prohibitionists and the suffragists, it is not probable, it is said here, that any open alliance will be formed. The Prohibition forces are inclined to have the women win their own battle without turning over their organization to them. The Prohibition forces gave encouragement to the suffragists for a time in the last suffrage canvas in 1914, but abandoned them in the final rounds of the campaign, with the result that woman's suffrage was defeated overwhelmingly.

Secretary of State Fulton to-day told Senator Charles Harding of Cincinnati, manager of the anti-suffrage campaign, that he will not prohibit clerks employed by suffrage leaders from copying names and addresses to petitions referring the Reynolds act. Senator Harding and other anti-suffragists claimed the time limit for examination of the petitions has expired. The Secretary of State declared his records are open to public inspection.—Cincinnati Enquirer.

NOTES AND COMMENT

SUFFRAGISTS AT SARATOGA

THE campaign conference of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party at Saratoga is surcharged with a hope and an enthusiasm unintelligible to most of us, whose enthusiasm and hope are now given to the cause of free civilization. It seems a curious time for any communicable ardor about the "emancipation" of women, multitudes of whom prefer their present chains and slavery. To be sure, the suffragist women recite with pride their labors and activities for the country. They are to be praised and thanked for these, but have the anti-suffrage women been any less industrious, patriotic, and self-sacrificing? And what is the unilluminate mind to think of the suffrage theory of patriotic and public values as expounded by an illustrious emancipatrix, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw?

You have been splendidly organized, and through that organization have been able to do unparalleled work for the nation since war came. But now, for the next two months, let me tell you that nothing you can possibly do for the Government will be equal in value to the work you do to carry this State for equal suffrage next November.

Are feminists, however charming, whose notion of public exigency and public duty is here so naively expressed, likely to enrich the electorate with wisdom?

The conference was not wholly fortunate in the contributions of its distinguished coadjutors. Governor Whitman spoke of "the right" to vote and compared the sophistries of the opponents of woman suffrage with those of Germany defending her misdeeds. Gracious tact is natural to the Governor, but even so acute an intelligence as Mayor Mitchell's was betrayed into this singular admission:

Women have demonstrated, despite unfortunate instances, such as Miss Rankin's vote in Congress on the declaration of war, that they are no more a prey to mawkish sentiment and visionary sentimentality than men.

The expense of elections is to be doubled for the sake of adding to the electorate a class of voters no more foolish than men. That is not a flattering estimate of woman suffrage.

Even the great name of Mr. Wilson, and his just influence and the profound public regard for him, cannot make his letter to the suffragists have other than the effect of recalling the seditious persecution of him by the Extreme Left of the suffragists. He magnanimously pardoned one set of these disturbers. The scandalous show, dishonoring to its participants and offensive to the nation, has gone on. The Woman Suffrage Party of New York, the majority suffragists of the country, regret and repudiate those violences of the minority. They are not to be blamed for them or held responsible for

them by right reason, but Mr. Wilson's letter cannot but revive, if the continuous folly of the picketers permitted it to sleep, the general disgust, not so much with woman suffrage as with woman suffrage making itself offensive or strident, in this time of all times.

The New York suffragists do well to disown the conduct of the extremists. What if so conspicuous a leader as Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt said, or is reported to have said, as the anti-suffragists tell us, in Cooper Union, April, 1916:

Has anything been achieved without pestering? The Barons pestered King John for Magna Charter. The revolutionists pestered King George for independence. We will continue to pester.

"Pestering" may not include "picketing," or Mrs. Catt may have grown more conservative. Be they conservative or radical, these women, whose earnestness and persistence and old skill in campaigning we all know, how do they expect to interest the people of New York in their "wrongs" or their "cause" in this year 1917? The State has other things to think of, life-and-death matters, cardinal, supreme.—New York Times, Aug. 31, 1917.

In Indiana the courts have decided that the legislature has no right to give woman the right to vote for delegates to the Constitutional Convention or to vote on the Constitution.

The pickets are not only working for anti-suffrage, but are fulfilling its prophecies.

Suffrage leaders say "the women of America want the ballot." That is a gross misrepresentation. The women of America want nothing of the kind.

WHEN WOMEN VOTE

A Chicago convention of clothing manufacturers says that women will wear trousers next year. Chicago is not much happier in producing suggestions for fashion articles than it is in supplying material for school books.—Washington Evening Star, Aug. 10, 1917.

WOMAN ON PASADENA JURY
WEEPS ENTIRE DAY

Pasadena had its first women's jury today when twelve women were selected in Judge McDonald's court to hear the case of A. G. Torrez, accused of violating the jitney bus ordinance by allowing passengers to ride on the runningboard of the machine. One of the twelve women jurists wept from the time she was selected until the court adjourned, declaring that she "wanted to go home where she believed all women belonged." The entire morning was consumed in selecting the jury, few of the women appearing eager to serve.—Los Angeles Herald, Aug. 13, 1917.

WOMEN'S WEAPONS

THERE was trouble at the White House doors recently when a couple of "pickets" of a woman's suffrage organization were attacked by an angry opponent. This lady—the report says—denounced the pickets so strongly that they began to cry. It will be remembered that recently the only woman member of Congress in the United States was similarly affected when called upon to vote on the question of war. We thus see that woman, even when in politics, is incorrigibly feminine.

Tears have always been a woman's weapon. They are not out of place in the home, where they are sanctioned by the usages of domestic warfare. We venture to think, however, that it would be unfortunate if they were allowed to irrigate political debate. In our view this natural, in some cases even permissible, tendency of women to resort to the pearly refuge is one of the most powerful arguments against woman's suffrage.

As Major Rowland Hunt pointed out the other night, if we give women the vote we are bound to have them in the House. We do not think that it would add to the dignity of parliament to see the leader of the House burst into sobs when the tellers announced an adverse vote. We shudder as we picture the chancellor of the exchequer, when one of the clauses of her budget is defeated in committee, carried out of the chamber in shrieking hysterics. Politics and pearly tears should be kept apart.—Washington Post, July 29, 1917.

When those depraved antis who are, according to the suffragists, "allied with the liquor interests," get the vote how awful things will be. Think of a majority of 90 per cent. in the State of Ohio all voting in favor of saloons and white slavery. The suffragists ought rigidly to exclude such a class from the ballot.

It is doubtful if the House of Lords will pass the Woman Suffrage bill which has already passed the House of Commons. Lord Curzon has announced that the measure will not be included in the government program and that the Lords will be therefore free to vote against it if they like, and it is prophesied that they will.

The conservative suffragists (so-called) are declaring that the militants are only a fraction of the suffragists of this country and in no sense represent them. Now this is just what the antis have been contending right along. The suffragists represent less than ten per cent. of the women of this country and women are not represented by them. We are just as loath to be represented by the suffragists as the latter are by the militants.

THE PICKETS

WON'T TRY HUNGER STRIKE

THE militants in prison, near Washington, although led by Miss Alice Paul, who studied under Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst in England, have not gone on a hunger strike. On the contrary, they complain bitterly about the food and service at Occoquan.

Superintendent Whittaker does not even furnish silver and napery. He declines to recognize the status of the suffragists as "political prisoners." They were committed on charges of obstructing traffic.

Senator James Hamilton Lewis, especially interested in the cases of Mrs. William Upton Watson and Miss Lucy Ewing of Chicago, visited the prisoners to-day.

"Ladies, I beg you allow me to do something to extricate you from your present deplorable predicament," he said as he entered the visiting room.

"Who told you it was deplorable?" asked Mrs. Watson, whose husband accompanied Senator Lewis, but was not allowed to see his wife.

"Why, how could it be otherwise?" asked Senator Lewis, with a sweeping bow.

"Well, it is," was the response. "It is glorious. It is for 'the cause.' How else would we call the attention of the world to the fact that American women have no more standing in their own country than slaves?"

WILLING TO BE MARTYRS

"May I not ask your leaders for a promise that they will do no more picketing at the White House in order to obtain your release?" asked Senator Lewis.

"Not at all!" responded Miss Ewing. "We are glad to serve for 'the cause.' And the call has gone out for 5,000 more to share the same martyrdom."

This surprising response staggered Senator Lewis.

"I understand there has been some complaint about food?" he asked, after he had recovered his poise.

"Oh, yes, it is terrible!" was the reply in chorus.

"Some specific complaint?"

"Yes, the corn. It is served without butter. Just fancy it!"

"Anything else?" he inquired.

"Oh, yes, the milk. It is thin."

"I am shocked. Any other complaints?"

"No silver. The service is very bad."

Senator Lewis made another plea in vain to the women to desist picketing.—*New York American*, August 27.

THE pickets in Occoquan Jail sent out an S. O. S. call for help—they said they were abused, that the food was uneatable and that the sanitary conditions were "something awful." Whereupon Dudley Malone gave up a \$12,000 job as Collector of the Port of New York, so he might pass along the "underfed" war cry. But it seems that some of the Western friends of those self-styled martyrs believed what they heard, and sent letters to their Congressmen to at once investigate and improve the "awful conditions." One Congressman from a strong suffrage State—and himself a most ardent suffragist—hurried out to Occoquan to investigate. He took with him another Congressman and several women, all equally ardent supporters of the suffrage cause. Now that Western Congressman is one of the truly high-grade sort of men. He went out in good faith prepared to storm the jail and bring about reform. He had only the welfare of the pickets in mind—some of them coming from his home State. But, as I have said, he was high-minded, truthful and the "awful conditions" as he found them can best be told by a quotation from a letter which he sent back to the women of his State, on whose appeal he had made a very thorough investigation. This is what he said: "There can be no criticism of the quality, quantity or character of the food served the prisoners. The bread was of fine quality, to which no objection whatsoever could be made. The dining room and kitchen were scrupulously clean. The sanitary conditions all that could be desired or expected in such an institution." The Congressman went on to say that the visit of the investigators was entirely unannounced, that they were permitted to examine all parts of the institution and taste all the food. They arrived just at the moment dinner was being served, so could judge for themselves. This Congressman came back to Washington and told the truth. He refused to be a party to any unjust complaints and misrepresentations, although he is a firm and steadfast suffragist.

WOMAN SUFFRAGIST DEFENDS PICKETING

THE following communication is received from a writer who represents the suffragist pickets at Washington:

To the Editor of *The Sun*: George Washington and 250,000 militant suffragists picketed King George III from July 4, 1776, to October 19, 1781, in an effort to secure votes for men—they succeeded.

On January 10, 1917, women began petitioning the government of the United States

in an effort to secure votes for women—they are still petitioning.

On January 10, 1917, women began picketing the democratic party because, having the power, it refused to establish a democracy in the United States. Votes for men were secured after five years of bloody militancy. Will the democratic party compel women to engage in picketing until the republican party secures control of the national government?

Every voter who reads this is self-governing because somewhere, sometime, someone became militant!

It is not necessary to neglect any of the functions of government in order to enfranchise women; congress indulges in three (3) minute sessions and three-day vacations while women languish in the workhouse because they demand the vote.

The most important subject before Congress is the Federal amendment for woman suffrage and should take precedence over every other measure. All other questions are trivial compared with the right of 20,000,000 women to enter the ranks of self-governing peoples!

It would require just forty-five (45) minutes to pass the Federal amendment for woman suffrage.

Viola Kaufman, 417 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

We cheerfully give space to the foregoing communication in defense of the picketing crusade conducted by the advocates of woman suffrage in Washington. The statement that all other questions before Congress are trivial compared to that of extending the suffrage to the women of this country, shows how blind the writer is to the all important issues of the war. Her contention is about as silly as that of a little girl who would contend with her mother about what dress she would wear while the mother was strenuously striving to save her from being run over by a railroad train. The *Sun* supported the suffrage cause and was glad to note its steady progress, until a coterie of political women in Washington began to adopt the methods of the worst militant suffragettes. While these methods might be tolerated in time of peace, they cannot be in time of war. Moreover, if these women pickets were imbued with the proper patriotic spirit, they would cease to think of the suffrage and go in to do their bit in the service of their country. If they stopped all agitation and offered their services to the government in the war, they would advance the suffrage cause as nothing else could, whereas by heckling Congress and the President, they are alienating its best friends and supporters and laying the foundation of future defeat. The methods of the I. W. W. cannot be approved even under the guise of women suffrage.—*The Editor Lowell Sun*.—Aug. 23, 1917.

FOES OF AMERICA

THE New York Call of March 9, 1917, said:

"Members of the Socialist suffrage campaign committee on the east side and on the west side, uptown and downtown, in Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn, are organizing the housewives and are arousing them to social consciousness. They are doing everything in their power to meet the immediate demand to organize, systematize and direct the campaign against the high cost of living, and at the same time they are winning the women for suffrage and are PREPARING THEIR MINDS FOR THE TEACHINGS OF SOCIALISM."

THE Editor of *The Masses*, Max Eastman, was the organizer and first secretary of the Men's Suffrage League of New York. He has always been one of the chief workers and speakers for the suffrage cause. He is a suffragist, a Socialist, a feminist and a pacifist.

The Masses some two years ago received the endorsement of suffragists of New York who sought to raise a sum of money to sustain the publication. The endorsement signed by prominent suffragists in the State, one of whom was the President of the New York Suffrage Association, read as follows:

"In cartoon, in verse, in editorial, in story, *The Masses* has stood for us all along the line as no other magazine in America has. When we fight for suffrage, for economic freedom, for professional opportunities, for scientific sex knowledge, there stands *The Masses*, always understanding always helping.

"Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Art Young, and the rest are genuine warm-hearted feminists. They like us and want us to win."

Postmaster-General Burleson, however, finds the publication seditious and an obstructor of the draft and Liberty Loan. In the New York Times of August 23, appears the following dispatch from Washington:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 22.—*The Masses*, a Socialist magazine published in New York, was denounced by Postmaster-General Burleson in a communication to the Senate to-day, as a leader in organized propaganda to discourage enlistments, prevent subscriptions to the Liberty Loan and obstruct the Draft act. He mentioned *The Jeffersonian*, of which Thomas E. Watson is editor, as in the same class.

Mr. Burleson declined to give more specific reasons for barring *The Masses* from the mails, saying such information was incompatible with the public interest. In response to the Senate's resolution of inquiry, presented by Senator Hardwick, the Postmaster-General wrote to Chairman Bankhead of the Postoffice Committee saying:

"From matter received by this department from various sections of the country, I find that there is an organized propaganda to discredit and handicap in every way the Government in the prosecution of this war with the clear and unmistakable purpose of defeating the objects for which the Government is spending millions of dollars, and probably will be called upon to sacrifice

thousands of lives. The publications forming a part of this propaganda in many cases so guard their utterances as the editors think will keep them out of prison. They are nevertheless united in publishing the same class of matter, whether it be true or half true or wholly false, and are daily accomplishing results clearly in violation of the Espionage law. Common among these publications stand *The Masses* and *The Jeffersonian*. Their respective editors are leaders in the movement. Their writings and speeches are quoted with approval by the press of this character throughout the country, as well as in circular matter emanating from the same source.

"Publications of this class have from week to week contended that the so-called Draft act, recently passed by Congress is unconstitutional, and under the pretense of legitimate argument have actually discouraged enlistments, obstructed the execution of the Draft act and prevented subscriptions to the bonds issued to raise money to carry on the war."

MR. ROOT'S WARNING TO AMERICA

IN Mr. Root's illuminating exposition of the situation in Russia Americans can read a lesson and a warning for themselves. The soundness of the Russian character and the ability of the people to work out the problem of democracy are unquestioned by him, but he found a danger that seriously threatens their liberty and that is responsible for the present demoralization in the army.

That danger is the existence in Russia of treasonable organizations like the I. W. W. that have been willing tools of German autocracy in the work of undermining democracy and paralyzing the military arm of the government. These organizations are the agents of the Kaiser. They would not be permitted to exist for a moment in Germany, but they are very useful to the Kaiser in the countries of his enemies and are given every encouragement to do the work of Germany abroad. These hirelings of kaiserism swarmed through Russia, scattering German money and German lies until they had accomplished the work German armies could not do.

Many complacent Americans who can perhaps understand how such things can be in Russia would be indignant at the intimation that the same conditions could possibly exist in America. But if they do not exist it is not because the Kaiser's tools are not here and busy.

"There are men walking about in this city to-night," Mr. Root said in New York, "who ought to be taken out and shot at sunrise." These men are doing for the Kaiser in America the same work that traitors of a like description did for him in Russia. Every man who openly or insidiously, by word or act, seeks to obstruct the operation of the draft law is doing the Kaiser's work. Every organization, like the

so-called People's Council, that is agitating the repeal of that law and encouraging slackers to resist it, is an agent of the Kaiser. Every individual, organization or newspaper that counsels a peace that would leave autocracy and the Prussian system untouched and disarmed in Germany is making bullets for the Kaiser's army.

Mr. Root has seen these agencies at work in Russia. He knows the disaster they have brought about there and how nearly they have come to delivering Russia, bound and helpless, into the hands of Germany. It is for American patriotism, alert to its duty and stern in its purpose, to put fear and trembling into the hearts of these traitors before they have further jeopardized America and its liberties.—From the Kansas City Star.

BUTTE, Aug. 17.—Montana politics were undergoing a spicy mauling to-day at the hands of the women. Many of the fair ones who supported Miss Jeannette Rankin, now Congresswoman, were outspoken in declaring that her action in coming here to investigate labor conditions is "merely a sensational move to annex labor votes" in her announced race against Senator A. J. Walsh for the Senate.

Miss Rankin was given a figurative hair-pulling on charges that she came here uninvited to investigate labor troubles.

She intends to make a bitter fight on the "rustling card" system, which, she says, is one of the chief causes for the continuation of the I. W. W. miners' strike here.

Preparations for handling a crowd of several thousand persons at a mass meeting of miners which she will address Sunday were being made to-day. Miss Rankin conferred with Tom Campbell, president of the local I. W. W., and other radical leaders.

AN article of exceptional interest to anti-suffragists at this time is "The Woman as a War Spy" in the August issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The writer says: "Many American women have been used as tools in the present war. Women of spotless reputations gave of their names and their reputations in pacifist movements financed by a foreign power to keep this country in a state of unpreparedness. The charge was made, but they did not believe it. It has since been proved in court, with penitentiary convictions. The Lamar trial brought this out, and it was Gompers, not Ford or Bryan, who saw the hideous features of war behind the mask of peace. It was Gompers who warned the United States to have nothing to do with such spurious propaganda. All this came out at the trial; but what did not come out in the trial was that the way was prepared for the propa-

FOES OF AMERICA—Continued

ganda by one of the most astute women who ever crossed the threshold of International affairs. When the peace ship reached Europe and two or three of the really big men on that ship realized that they were puppets on the end of a wire being manipulated from Berlin, they suffered an instantaneous conversion to preparedness that all the argument under the sun could not have effected. Run over in your mind the big men who went across on that ship as fighting militant, swashbuckling pacifists and came back mum on pacifism, but shouting at the tops of their voices for Uncle Sam to get ready, and you will realize what the dainty hand of one woman was attempting to do."—*Anti-Suffrage Notes*, No. 164.

QUESTIONS FOR MRS. CATT TO ANSWER

MRS. CATT, president of the International Suffrage association brought to this country early in the war, the secretary of that association, the so-called "Frau" Rosika Schwimmer, an unmarried Austrian feminist. "Frau" Schwimmer campaigned for suffrage in Ohio, speaking in a saloon in Columbus; she helped organize the Woman's Peace party, and originated the peace ship enterprise, which she persuaded Mr. Henry Ford to finance. Will Mrs. Catt tell us why this lady on her return to America the following season had changed her name to "Madame" Rosika Schwimmer? And will she also tell us why Mr. Ford, who financed the peace ship, refused on "Madame" Schwimmer's next visit to allow her to enter his house or office, and declined to receive either letters or telegrams from her? The country has a right to some light on these points, when Mrs. Catt and the other suffragists who brought "Frau" Schwimmer to this country and assisted her in starting the peace party are demanding woman suffrage as a "war measure." Is it a war measure for the benefit of Germany or the United States?

Germany's reasons for backing a peace movement are clear. It was to her advantage to keep us unprepared and defenseless. Why has she also been eager to strengthen the suffrage movement in England and America? Because under woman suffrage the power of men individually and collectively is only half what it is in male suffrage States. Inasmuch as the sovereignty of a nation depends in the last analysis upon its manhood, the selfish determination of suffragists to vitiate and devitalize the political power of men, thereby playing directly into the hands of our nation's enemies, stands as one of the crying shames of our era.

Suffragists admit that they have been working to make American men as unmanly as possible. Beatrice Forbes Robinson Hale in her book, "What Women Want," one of

the best selling suffrage books on the market, says that "every instinct of domination and sovereignty must be bred out of the American men before he can be a fit mate for the new woman," and she declares that this is rapidly being done in America.

This attempt of the feminists to make American men into negligible weaklings is particularly interesting at this time when all the world is at war, and strength, courage and endurance are qualities absolutely necessary in our men if democracy is to endure.

Mrs. Catt, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Shaw, Rose Pastor Stokes, Mrs. Norman De R. Whitehouse, Alice Carpenter, Jane Addams, Mrs. Frank Cothren, Mrs. Amos Pinchot and other prominent suffragists have been supporters and leaders of the "pacifist" movement and perhaps have done more than any other influence in this country to discourage patriotism in certain quarters and to lower the vitality of democracy.—*Anti-Suffrage Notes*, No. 164.

JOB FOR SECRET SERVICE

THOSE women picketers of the White House have finally led the police to do some banner tearing. When the streamers appeared with the legend, "Kaiser Wilson," the police tore them down. This may have been in anticipation of the action of the crowd. However, it was unwise action for the police to take.

It might be a fine idea to allow these women who have so much time and means to indulge in such diversion to go the very limit. They have been an annoyance to Washington and a disgrace to the nation for weeks. Why put any restraint upon them? Why not let them display their banner about "Kaiser Wilson"? Why not, by ignoring them, induce them to show their true colors? If the "Kaiser Wilson" banner had been judiciously tolerated these gentlewomen might have been induced to be more bold. They might have been led to scuttle out into the sunshine of truth, where the nation might see them for what they stand for.

It was, in our opinion, a mistake for the police to tear down those banners about "Kaiser Wilson." This, not because the banners were not a gross insult to the nation and the chief executive of the nation, but because by tolerating the banners these eminent ladies were not made bold to produce some banner which, from their actions, we may conclude they have somewhere in hiding with a legend to the effect that Kaiser Wilhelm should be rex and emperor uber alles, America included.

As near as we can make out there is but one thing the matter with these women. They are merely in the wrong environment.

They ought to be near Potsdam, where they belong and not here causing a lot of good cotton cloth to be spoiled by the painting thereon of stuff that shows them to be not for this country but against it. It is a mighty strange fact that this little group of wilful women has so long had the means and has been imbued from somewhere with the stamina to keep up their exhibition of persistent efficiency before the White House.

It may be with rather ill-grace that *The Gazette* offers a suggestion, for *The Gazette* has commended President Wilson's policy of ignoring these women—a policy of letting a gale in a teapot blow itself out. Yet the persistency with which the gale continues to blow makes it appear that there is something behind it save the emotional force of some misguided souls. So we suggest, merely as a matter of patriotism, that nothing is to be gained by having the banners of these ladies torn to tatters by either Washington crowds or Washington police. What these ladies need, it seems to us, is the attention of the secret service. These women are either for America or they are against it. These women are either allied with the womanhood of the Allies or they are not. They are either in the pay of Potsdam or not in the pay of Potsdam. Their status is one that the secret service should determine and then make an end to what is either merely a manifestation of hysterical nonsense or else a cheap effort to work treason against the United States.—*The Worcester Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1917.

WHITE HOUSE PICKETING

FIVE of the suffrage women recently released from jail for picketing the White House appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee the other day in a defiant frame of mind. They demanded that the law under which they had been jailed should be amended. They insisted, in a vague and general way, that the espionage law, under which action had been taken against them, is unjust and oppressive. They denounced the President, and, after some questioning tending to show that several senators were not in sympathy with their methods, one of them snapped out that Congress would also have been picketed if Congress were anything more than a mere phonograph of the White House. This center shot could not have advanced their cause much in the Judiciary Committee, but they "didn't care." Plainly enough, woman cannot be made one whit less a woman by being a militant suffragette.

The confusion was finally ended by Senator Overman, asking the women to draft such an amendment as they would like to have adopted as affording some basis for congressional action. The senator said the

amendment should state, in clear terms, that picketing is permissible. The ladies promised to take this action. But before their departure Senator Fletcher, informing them that their personal reflections upon the President would all be expunged from the record, drew a battery of scornful looks. Where, indeed, was the need of such a statement? Let the record speak for itself. And the printing of all that was said could not increase the popularity of picketing among the great body of American women, including suffragists, who repudiate such methods of propaganda and who feel that it should be unlawful to annoy the chief executive of the nation in such a time of stress as this.—*St. Louis Globe Democrat*, Aug. 14, 1917.

A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

August 27, 1917.

GOVERNOR CHARLES S. WHITMAN,
Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

It has been announced that you are to be one of the speakers at the Suffrage Convention to be held at Saratoga this week.

I assume, of course, that you will speak there as an individual and not as the chief executive of the State voicing the sentiment of the people of New York, for I need not remind you that the people registered their sentiment very strongly against Woman Suffrage in November, 1915, by a majority vote of over 194,000 or about 30,000 above your own plurality when you were re-elected Governor last autumn.

I speak advisedly when I say the majority of the people of this State are opposed to Woman Suffrage, because there is no question but that nine men out of ten absolutely represent the desires of the women of their family when voting on this question.

There is absolutely no proof that the sentiment in favor of Woman Suffrage has increased in New York State since 1915—in fact the suffragists themselves are evidently conscious that the number of their adherents has decreased. Two years ago they claimed that 1,000,000 women in New York State were asking for the franchise. This year their campaign leaflets announce that 500,000 women want the ballot. Even assuming these figures to be correct, and I have not seen them substantiated anywhere, they prove that after sixty years of almost continuous agitation, the suffragists have succeeded in convincing only one woman out of every six over twenty-one years old, in the State of New York, that she desires to assume the responsibility of suffrage in addition to her other duties.

The claim that the spirit of Democracy will not be fulfilled until woman as a class is enfranchised is very specious, but it is untenable, because woman cannot be considered as a class set apart by herself. She is a member of each and every class repre-

sented in the electorate to-day, hence it must be proved that the interest of the men and women of the same class are not the same but different, in order to extend suffrage to women on the ground that it is a further extension of Democracy.

The plea is being made that since England and Russia have extended suffrage to their women as a war measure, the voters of this State should take similar action; but this question is not yet settled in England since the bill has still to pass the House of Lords, and the cry that poor distracted Russia now has Woman Suffrage will certainly not appeal to any thinking man as an example to follow in this country.

The president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, announced at a public meeting in New York in March:

"We ask the vote as a war measure just as the emancipation of the slaves was a war measure. We ask it that women may have the feeling that they have been recognized as assets of the nation before that nation falls back upon them for war services."

And some male advocates of Woman Suffrage have likewise expressed this sentiment. This point of view is not only foreign, but abhorrent to anti-suffragists.

We stand ready to give the best there is in us in the service of our country at this time, without the least desire or expectation of any reward whatever for services rendered.

Woman's service to the State as to the family is unselfish, unconditional and unremitting. *The suggestion that the State shall offer women the political payment of a vote for war services is a direct slur on woman's patriotism. A truly patriotic woman wants no reward for such service.*

What the vast majority of women need and desire, at this period of national crisis with the extra duties imposed by the war, is exemption from political competition with men or with women. To force women into partizan politics is to divert women from non-partizan services.

It has been said that the ballot is a symbol of liberty. We claim that its absence where women are concerned is a symbol of something more valuable to the State—the symbol of disinterested service. Think what it means to the State and to the nation, whether in time of peace or in time of war, to have a band of disinterested non-partizan citizens willing to do their "bit" without any thought of political reward or preferment?

Those of us who believe so thoroughly in the slogan "America First" at the present time, and in a united womanhood at all times, regret that the controversial question of Woman Suffrage has been forced to the front, by the suffragists, when the woman strength of the nation should be united as never before. This division between women is even hampering much of the war relief work, as I know from my personal experience, and as you must know

through your experience with the military census work.

The power of a united womanhood, working along non-partizan lines, would be practically unlimited, but if women are enfranchised the same situation which exists to-day between suffragists and anti-suffragists would only be intensified and perpetuated.

I should apologize for the length of this letter were it not for the fact that I feel very strongly that I am within my rights in presenting to you the position of the majority of the men and women of this State on the question of Woman Suffrage before you speak at the Suffrage Convention at Saratoga.

Very sincerely yours,

ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN,
President.

THE following letter was sent to the Congressmen from the Anti-Suffrage Association of the State:

To the Hon. ———,

M. C., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir—

The Wisconsin Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage protests against the passage by this Congress as an "Emergency War Measure" the so-called Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution. It is an utter absurdity to style this movement an "Emergency War Measure."

The extension of the franchise to woman is a measure that will permanently affect the nation and should receive dispassionate attention. Action taken at this time only adds difficulties and distracts attention from vital issues, which must of necessity be settled and settled promptly, and these are real genuine "emergency" measures.

The American women hold an enviable position in the world on account of the conservation of opportunities for self-development and expression which leads to the highest service.

The State of Wisconsin, through legislative enactment, has striven to permit the full development of these powers. No "emergency" has arisen to change these conditions. This is not the time to force women into the field of politics and useless endeavor. The real duty of the American woman, the greatest service she can render our country at all times is to concentrate her efforts toward keeping up the standards of the American family life, the lowering of which would be the greatest calamity that could befall the nation. To do this at this time we must be free to act as women and not be disturbed by a crowd of discontented would-be politicians.

We urge you, as you cherish the ideals for which we strive, to refrain from imposing upon us by legislative action, activities which would thrust us into political strife while we are endeavoring to carry without complaint the real duties imposed by the great conflict now upon us.

NOTES FROM THE STATES

NEW YORK

ONE of the most successful events of the month was the mass meeting in Southampton, Long Island, on August 18, held in the Southampton Art Museum.

Speeches were made by Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., our National president, by Miss Lucy Price and Col. Robert M. Thompson, president of the Navy League of the United States. Mr. Samuel S. Parrish presided.

Under the enthusiastic leadership of Miss Mary G. Kilbreth, Southampton is fast becoming one of the strongholds of anti-suffrage.

Introduced by Mr. Arthur E. Bestor, President of the Chautauqua Institution, Miss Lucy Price spoke in the Auditorium at Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, N. Y., on August 17, before a large audience. Her address came a few days after that of the suffragist, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale.

The Rochester committee are planning great fair activity and will have booths for the distribution of literature at the following fairs: Brockport, Batavia, Avon, Hemlock, Caledonia, Lyons, Newark, Palmyra and Warsaw.

The Albany committee will look after the fairs at Altamont, Cobleskill and Nassau.

The Troy committee will have a booth at the Hudson Falls fair, as well as at the fairs held at Cambridge and Balston Spa.

The anti-suffrage booth at Warrensburg fair (near Lake George) gained hundreds of members during the week of the fair's duration. Miss Mary Hayden, in charge of the booth, assisted by Mrs. Dobbin of New York and an able committee, made their booth one of the centers of attraction. Miss Charlotte Rowe and Mr. Henry Hayden, speakers, had no trouble in holding the attention of tremendous audiences against the counter attractions of the race course and the usual suffrage activities.

Miss Rowe was the speaker at the Walton Fair on September 5 and 6, and Miss Price will speak at Oneonta on September 19.

A Miss Dorothy Blouke, who, according to the newspapers is a young woman from Chicago, and came here originally as the guest of Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, was reported to have stated at a suffrage meeting in Rome, N. Y., that "the only organization

which has ever endorsed anti-suffrage in this country is the National Liquor Dealers' Association." Miss Alice Hill Chittenden sent Miss Blouke the following challenge dated August 2:

MISS DOROTHY BLOUKE,
c/o MRS. FRANK A. VANDERLIP,
Scarsborough, N. Y.

DEAR MADAM:

I have just seen a report of a suffrage talk which you gave in Rome recently, at which time you are reported to have said that "the only organization which has ever endorsed anti-suffrage in this country is the National Liquor Dealers' Association."

This is indeed news to me. May I ask you to kindly furnish me with the facts connected with it? I should like to know when such action was taken, and the terms of the endorsement. Of course you must have these facts in hand, or you would not make such a statement.

If I do not hear from you shortly in regard to this, I shall send this letter addressed to you out as an open letter throughout the state.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN,
President.
New York State Association
Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Having had no response from Miss Blouke, and the same report appearing in another paper on August 8, copies of letter addressed to Miss Blouke were sent out to the newspapers of the state under date of September 1.

MASSACHUSETTS

IN August, Mrs. Stephen S. FitzGerald, our president, sent out a request through the Branch Chairman in the State to all our members asking that they refrain from using white bread for one week in August, thus doing their bit toward assisting in the Hoover Food Conservation campaign. Reports that have been received at headquarters show that many of the chairmen have circulated this request through the medium of their local papers.

Our Association is paying its pro rata for the services for the experts of a Canning Kitchen in operation in Boston, and our members, under the leadership of Mrs. George Tappan Francis of Boston and Charles River, report each Monday for duty with Mrs. C. T. Robbins as supervisor.

The War Emergency Committee of which Mrs. William P. Shreve is chairman has sent a large package containing bound novels to the Y. M. C. A. Tent at the Ayer Camp, having ascertained from the secretary in charge that they would be most acceptable. Additional lots will be sent later on. A large package of magazines and a Victor machine have been sent to the

General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. to be disposed of at his discretion, and a small sum of money has been sent to Mr. Emerson in charge of the Reading Room at Commonwealth Pier to buy records for use at that place.

Supplies of magazines, sweet chocolate, sweaters and socks have been sent out to such individuals as have been brought to the notice of our Committee by those knowing of the need.

Five members of our Association are at present serving on the Committee of Women in Industry of the National Council of Defence. They are Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford, Mrs. A. T. Leatherbee, Miss Margaret Maher, Miss Mary Maguire and Miss Florence Leadbetter.

Mrs. B. L. Robinson, a member of our Executive Board has just been made chairman of the Jaffrey and East Jaffrey Units of the New Hampshire Division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defence. Mrs. John F. Hill, another member of our Executive Board is at the head of the Liberty Loan Committee for the State of Maine, where she spends her summers.

Members of Cambridge Branch are especially active at this time in the work at the Harvard Canteen.

The chairman of the Brockton Branch is Chairman of the Red Cross Auxiliary in Whitman, where she lives.

Our Harvard chairman is also Vice-president of the Red Cross Auxiliary in her town.

Melrose Branch reports great activity in both Special Aid and War Relief Work.

The Chairman of our Needham Branch is the Treasurer of the local Special Aid Society.

North Easton, Norwood, Salem, Sherborn and Townsend Branches all report great activity in every branch of Relief Work.

The Chairmen of our Wakefield, Wellesley and Quincy Branches are also serving as Chairmen of the Special Aid Societies in their towns.

Three thousand naval reserves are on Commonwealth Pier. Many of them have come from a distance, and are utterly without family or friends in Boston. The forces of evil are ever vigilant to entrap these boys, and their need for a touch of home life is very great.

After consultation with the Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. station at the Pier, our War Emergency Committee is trying to meet this need by arranging a series of week-end parties in the nearby towns, to give the boys who have no homes to go to the longed-for home life when on their bi-weekly holiday.

NOTES FROM THE STATES—Continued

Our plan is to ask each Chairman who is sympathetic with the idea to appoint a Committee who will ask various families in the town to entertain two or more boys (they like to go in pairs) from Saturday afternoon to Sunday evening. We shall place the boys with any good friends, whether Suffragist or Anti, but shall ourselves make the general arrangements. Some kind of simple evening will be arranged for the group Saturday evenings when they can meet the right kind of girls.

Wellesley Branch has already had the first week-end party which was an immense success in every way, both boys and families getting pleasure and profit from it. The work is not difficult, as almost everyone approached is enthusiastic to help. Milton will have the second party on September 1, and Norwood will entertain on September 15th. From twenty-five to fifty boys are invited on these occasions.

Mrs. William Lowell Putnam has resigned as chairman of the Education and Organization Committee and Mrs. Thomas Nelson Perkins of the Executive has accepted the position. Mrs. Putnam's resignation was received with great regret. Her work as Chairman of the Relief Department of the Special Aid Society, which has to do with supplying information to the families of soldiers, has become so overwhelming that she felt she must give up all her time to that most important and particular duty. Mrs. Putnam has made a complete roster of the soldiers of Massachusetts and established a Bureau of Information, the object of which is to answer requests from the men for information concerning the welfare of their families and communicating back to them the information desired. The Bureau has the stamp of official approval and Mrs. Putnam is to be congratulated upon the wonderful results which have already been achieved.

Since the last report a new branch has been formed at Ayer with Mrs. Nina B. Lovejoy as Chairman.

A great many of our members have been active in Maine during the past month and will continue to work and distribute literature until after the election. Mrs. Edwin P. Ford will spend the last two weeks of the campaign in Augusta. Mrs. Henry P. White is at work again arranging for meetings, speaking and working at fairs. Miss Grace Blanchard of Fitchburg will assist Maine women in conducting an Anti-Suffrage shop at Old Orchard the week of August 27—September 3. A number of our branches have advertised in Maine papers that they would send literature on request and have met with most gratifying results.

Massachusetts has also financed the distribution of 50,000 copies of the "Case Against" in Maine.

Miss Virginia Heal, formerly one of our most active workers, has sailed for Belgium with credentials from President Wilson to the Belgian Queen. Miss Heal is to make a survey of conditions in Belgium.

Miss Stella Bent, another of our active workers, is working with the Troy Auxiliary, and will continue to assist that Association and the one in Albany until after the November election.

OHIO

THE Ohio suffragists are endeavoring in every possible way to defeat the referendum on the Reynolds Bill which was called by the Ohio State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The suffragists boast that they have \$60,000 with which to defeat the referendum and that \$150,000 more is available if needed. They have resorted to tactics long ago abandoned by men as unworthy. They have attacked every county board which has certified petitions to the Secretary of State and for six weeks or more have swarmed about the Capitol digging into the petitions. In accordance with the law they had twenty-five days in which to file notice of protest while the petitions were being examined by the county boards. They ignored this privilege and concentrated their efforts, after the legal time for examination had passed, by a wholesale examination at the State Capitol. Since the Secretary of State is merely the custodian of the petitions he must, under the law, accept the verdict of the county boards as final.

Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz, who has been placed in charge of the State by Mrs. H. E. Talbott, president of the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has made protest to the Secretary of State and has demanded that he declare the election since he has admitted that he now has in his charge many more petitions than are necessary for the referendum. The suffragists declared the names on petitions 111 from Cuyahoga County to be forged, every one, notwithstanding that one of the signatures was signed by the notary public, who verified several other petitions, and the handwriting of the questioned signature and that of the notarial attestation was identical as the Secretary of State himself admitted. Another signature among those charged as "forgeries" was signed by a member of the Ohio Legislature.

The anti-suffragists have put detectives on the case to trace the accusations of the

suffragists that anti petitions were circulated by saloon men and thus far have been unable to discover a single instance. These detectives with a corps of men working under them intend to stay on the trail of the suffragists and nail every lie which has been circulated by them. The suffragists were the first to support the referendum. Now they are endeavoring by every means in their power to tear it down. They are afraid to submit their cause to the will of the people and have placed themselves on record in the State of Ohio as foes of democracy. The prohibitionists who have a campaign this fall are shying as far away from the suffragists as possible. They won municipal suffrage in Columbus by a five per cent. vote of that city, by using imported women to make a house-to-house canvass and by circulating vicious and false statements concerning the anti-suffragists. In spite of these facts, Ohio will again reject woman suffrage at the polls in November. The Ohio men are disgusted.

WAGES AND VOTES

THE Mayor's Committee of New York City of the Woman's Council of National Defense has reported, according to the *New York Times* of August 27th, that the women who are replacing men in banks are getting larger salaries to start with than the former male employees had received. This was due to the fact that the women were older than the men when they entered the service and were more experienced.

In other words it is not sex but efficiency and experience that determine wages, and it did not take the vote in New York for women to secure equitable returns at least in banking houses.

The insistence of the suffragists that working woman need the ballot to secure better wages has been disproved many times, but equal pay for equal work is a good slogan although it is probable that women and men get the same pay for the same work much oftener than the suffragists suppose. There are unfortunately instances where they do not. Here is one of them: A suffragist of great wealth had for many years a man cook. It became necessary to replace him and a woman was secured in his place who received but little more than half the salary so freely accorded to the man. The woman's vote would never have secured the wages of the man with that employer, who talks by the hour to her audiences (and this is literally true) about the need of the ballot for the wage-earning woman.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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